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Gournay's Gift:
A Presentation Copy of the 1595 *Essais*

John O'Brien

A hitherto unrecorded copy of Montaigne's 1595 *Essais*, now in the Russell Library at St Patrick's College, Maynooth, derives from the press of Abel L'Angelier, the essayist's first Parisian printer. The exact provenance of the volume is unknown, but there were strong French links between Maynooth and France from the earliest days of the College's foundation in 1795, when a number of the staff were of French origin.¹ This Gallic presence is felt in the pre-1850 library collections, although the volume is not recorded in the oldest College library catalogue, dating from 1822. The College library benefited from benefactions rather than from independent funds of its own, and one likely provenance is a scholar priest with connections to the College, perhaps a member of the College staff. However, an old non-Maynooth ink shelfmark on the flyleaf of the volume, Q.b.2, might indicate that the book had at some point been in a smaller institution such as a convent. Another old shelfmark, W-2/a-5, in red pencil, is a pre-1936 Maynooth usage. Thus an accession date at any point between the mid-1850s and 1930 seems most probable. The volume's current binding, although not its original one, also helps with an approximate date. It has been re-bound in modest half-sheep stained black, with marbled papers on the boards in blue and brown 'Spanish' pattern, fashionable in Britain and Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century.² The pastedowns, endpapers and edges are likewise marbled. These features together point to a re-binding date of 1850-1900. The volume has been cropped during re-binding.

Three hands have annotated the 1595 Maynooth. One particularly important hand will be commented upon later. Of the other two, the older one is sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The earliest hand is confined to some ink underlinings, particularly in the first chapter of the first book, together with marginalia noting key words. The underlinings are more numerous than the marginalia, each of which is surrounded by a box and scored through, sometimes so heavily scored through that the comments are illegible. The same hand may be responsible for further scattered ink underlinings at various points in the volume and for the partial underlining of the titles of five chapters in the ‘Table des chapitres’. The second hand is later. It comprises a series of eighteenth-century pencil marginalia, extending throughout the book. The marginalia are mainly translations of French words and phrases into English; occasionally a source is identified and more rarely a comment is offered on Montaigne’s ideas.

The Maynooth Montaigne has, however, far more than this to offer. We may begin with the prelims, comparing them with the description given in Sayce and Maskell’s *Descriptive Bibliography* of the 1595 L’Angelier Montaigne. In the Maynooth copy, the title page and, on the reverse, the ‘privilège’ signed by Rambouillet are present. Sayce and Maskell class this title page as the first issue of 1595 from L’Angelier’s print shop (figure 1).³ The Maynooth copy is then missing the preface (sigs. ã ii^r-ĩ ii^v) – the so-called ‘long preface’ by Mlle de Gournay, Montaigne’s adopted daughter (‘fille d’alliance’). Following the title page in the Maynooth copy comes the ‘Table des chapitres’ (sigs. ã iij^r - [ĩ iv^r]), mounted on stubs. Then follows an ‘Au lecteur’ (sig. [ĩ v^r]) remounted in the middle of a blank page of laid paper. The type ornaments and lay out identify this as the ‘Au lecteur’ of the 1617 edition (figure 2). On the reverse of this leaf (sig. [ĩ v^v]) is a portrait of Montaigne by Thomas de Leu (figure 3), mounted in the middle of the page. This too is from the 1617

edition and can be identified as such by the quatrain underneath the portrait which, in vv. 2 and 4, contains variants compared to that published in 1608, when the portrait first appeared in an edition of Montaigne.⁴ These defects apart, the Maynooth copy is otherwise complete; each page of the text of the *Essais* is present, as are the indices, and the ‘Errata’ on the reverse of the final leaf.

A very significant point of interest is that this copy is one of the few to contain a *cancellans* in gathering F at pp. 63-64 and 69-70. A long passage of 23 lines (‘Car qui se mesle ... *Chrysippum sequor*’) had been omitted in the printing of L’Angelier 1595, causing these pages to be reset in some copies. As a consequence, pages 63 and 64 in the Maynooth copy have 46 lines each, by contrast with the usual arrangement of 44 lines in the rest of the volume. The Latin verse quotation on p. 64 (l. 22), ‘Aditum nocendi perfido præstat fides’, has also been printed on half a line, in order to save space. As a result of the re-setting, errors crept in on the other half of the reset sheet:

p. 69, l. 14: des hautes executions (de)

p. 69, l. 32: presenter (representer)

p. 69, l. 34: representer (presenter)

Sayce and Maskell report that ‘presenter’ for ‘representer’ was later corrected in ink by Gournay.⁵ The excellent digitisation of the well-known Antwerp (‘Antwerp 1’) copy of the L’Angelier 1595, which was sent by Gournay to Lipsius and is now in the Plantin Moretus Museum, allows one to see the correction plainly.⁶ However, there is no such correction in the Maynooth copy; all three errors are left uncorrected. Copies of the 1595 *Essais* with the *cancellans* are very rare – only four other examples are known. In an article on the 1595 edition, Sayce commented, ‘La rareté des exemplaires cartonnés suggère que la substitution

s'est faite à un moment assez tardif, lorsque la plupart des exemplaires étaient déjà vendus (mais en tout cas avant novembre 1596)'.⁷ Maynooth's membership of this select group adds to its great distinctiveness and significance.

No small part of the interest of the Maynooth copy of the *Essais* lies in the manuscript corrections by Gournay. In the first instance, interest turns here on the Errata (figure 4). It will be noticed that the errata page is crossed through, a feature it shares with the Antwerp 1 copy. In both cases, such crossing-through indicates that Gournay has entered the corrigenda in the text itself; certainly other copies of the 1595 first issue do not have such crossing-through and correspondingly the corrigenda have not been made in their text.⁸ Sayce remarks that there are also two states of the errata in the first issue of 1595, occurring indifferently in both the L'Angelier printing and the Sonnius printing.⁹ The first has two columns of 23 corrections each; the second has two unequal columns, one of 25 corrections, the other of 24. Maynooth belongs to that second category. It thus has three extra corrections overall compared to the 23/23 group. These are all in book 3 of the *Essais*, which has separate pagination from the first two books:

p. 180, l. 10: en bas me saisissent

p. 202, l. 10: par le menu

p. 205, l. 8: à tout le logis

There are also three variants between the two states of the errata:

p. 83, l. 1: ouurant, (23/23: ouurant, laissant)

p. 305, l. 16: en bas, à sentir (23/23: en base à sentir)

p. 180, l. 10: en bas me saisissent (23/23: me saisissent)

Although the 23/23 group is found in larger number of copies, Sayce concludes that 25/24 is the corrected state of the text, seeing that three new errors were discovered. Maynooth therefore belongs to that group reflecting the corrected state of the text.

Gournay is particularly assiduous about correcting manually the Errata in the Maynooth *Essais*. Her corrections are 44 in number and can be tabulated as follows:

Page and line number	Printed text	Correction	Comments
Books 1 and 2 (continuous pagination)			
8, l. 23 (chapter I.3)	Vischa	‘V’ crossed through only in text	no correction entered in margin
16, l. 23 (chapter I.7)	presante	pressante	‘s’ squeezed in after the first ‘s’
40, l. 24	fust ce d’vne	fust ce œuvre d’vne	vertical caret (=) inserted after ‘ce’, ‘ œuvre’ written in margin
66, l. 15 (chapter I.23)	Lepidius	Lepidus	second ‘i’ crossed through
83, ll. 1-2 (chapter I.25)	ouurent	ouurant	‘e’ of ‘ouurent’ simply blotted through
97 (= 88), l. 1 (chapter I.25)	au monde	du monde	‘a’ altered to ‘d’
97 (= 88), l. 4 (chapter I.25)	auoit imagination	auoit l’imagination	‘l’ squeezed in before ‘imagination’
114, l.31 (chapter I.29)	L’arracher	L’archer	second ‘r’ and ‘a’ struck through vertically
152, l. 39 (chapter I.40)	à vie	à la vie	vertical caret inserted after ‘à’, ‘ la’ written in the margin
179, l. 1 (chapter I.46)	des personnes	de personnes	‘s’ erased by knife
184, l. 21 (chapter I.46)	des gendarmes	de gendarmes	‘s’ erased by knife

I.48)			
205, l. 1 (chapter I.56)	de celle	de celles	‘s’ added in text
227, l. 38 (chapter II.3)	Minachetuen	Ninachetuen	‘M’ crossed through vertically, capital ‘N’ in margin
235, l. 28 (chapter II.6)	puissantes	puissant	‘e’ crossed out
241, l. 2 (chapter II.6)	doibt	doibt on	vertical caret in text and ‘on’ alone in margin
264, l. 1 (chapter II.10)	trouuoit	trouuent	‘trouuoit’ crossed through and ‘trouuent’ written over the top
297, l. 41 (chapter II.12)	ettez	iettez	‘i’ added by the side of ‘ettez’
297, l. 42 (chapter II.12)	iauec	auec	the ‘i’ of the word ‘iettez’ directly above has dropped down to the line below. Erased by knife.
305, l. 29 (chapter II.12)	se sentir	sentir	‘se’ erased by knife
328, l. 3 (chapter II.12)	vous	nous	initial ‘v’ overwritten with ‘n’
354, l. 25 (chapter II.12)	Essais	essais	‘Essais’ crossed through and a vertical caret inserted before it; ‘ essais’ written in margin
387, l. 17 (chapter II.12)	fait naistre	y fait naistre	vertical caret inserted before ‘fait’, ‘ y’ written in margin
425, l. 22 (chapter II.17)	palme	paulme	‘palme’ crossed through in ink and ‘paulme’ written in margin
435, l. 13 (chapter II.17)	laissent	laisse	‘nt’ crossed through in ink
448, l. 23 (chapter II.21)	Ammath	Ammurath	vertical caret next to ‘Ammath’, ‘ Ammurath’ written in margin

476, l. 36 (chapter II.32)	autres-fois,	autres-fois vn	vertical caret in text, ‘ vn’ written in margin, comma crossed out vertically
487, l. 4 (chapter II.34)	auoit	n’auoit	‘auoit’ crossed through and ‘n’auoit’ written over the top
502, l. 29 (chapter II.35)	aussi, cōme	aussi, luy mort, cōme	vertical caret in text after ‘aussi’, ‘ luy mort’ written in margin
517, l. 19 (chapter II.36)	ausquels	auxquelles	‘ausquels’ crossed through, ‘auxquelles’ written in margin
518, l. 32 (chapter II.36)	sa diuersité	la diuersité	correction in text is very faint
Book 3 (separate pagination)			
6, l. 25 (chapter III.1)	le meilleur	leur meilleur	vertical caret in text, ‘le’ crossed out horizontally, ‘ leur’ written in margin
36, l. 13 (chapter III.4)	presser	prester	‘presser’ crossed through horizontally, ‘prester’ written in margin
62, l. 33 (chapter III.5)	pris en	pris à dire en	vertical caret after ‘pris’, ‘ à dire’ written in margin
64, l. 12 (chapter III.5)	honteuses) les Esseniens	honteuses. Les Esseniens	bracket erased by knife, full stop and capital ‘L’ inserted in text
70, l. 42 (chapter III.5)	auons	aurons	‘auons’ crossed through and ‘aurons’ written over the top
88, l. 43 (chapter III.6)	ilz y ne les	ilz ne les	‘y’ inked through
92, l. 27 (chapter III.7)	Essays	essais	‘Essays’ crossed through, ‘essais’ written in margin
95, l. 22 (chapter III.8)	les avec	avec les	‘les avec’ crossed through, ‘avec les’ written in margin

168, l. 17 (chapter III.11)	de se resoudre	de resoudre	'se' erased by knife, but ink correction also underneath
178, l. 1 (chapter III.12)	n'e beaust que	n'est que beau	actually 'Jt que beau' in margin owing to cropping
199, l. 20 (chapter III.13)	defecit	deficit	alteration directly in text
202, ll. 7-8 (chapter III.13)	par le le menu	par le menu	one 'le' crossed through vertically
205, l. 8 (chapter III.13)	tout de logis	tout le logis	correction made by erasure by knife
211, ll. 41-42 (chapter III.13)	menassent	menassant	change of 'e' to 'a' is very faint

One striking feature of these Maynooth corrections is the variety of ways Gournay makes them. If one compares the digitised Antwerp copy, the impression is of a more standardised intervention. The carets there are small and pointed. In the Maynooth copy, Gournay makes frequent use a vertical line as a caret, but also resorts to erasure with a knife and crossing out in ink to make the necessary corrections (figures 5 and 6).

Gournay has done a seemingly thorough job in correcting the errata. Yet, perhaps oddly, there are errata which have not been corrected in the Maynooth copy:

Page and line number	Errata reading	Actual reading	Comment
153, l. 1 (chapter I.40)	& leur	& luy	new comma inserted by Gournay after 'promettoit', but no other change
154, ll. 33-34 (chapter I.40)	opinons	opinions	Abel remarks that the Antwerp 1 copy at this point has several changes ending with the original in the margin. ¹⁰

253, l. 8 (chapter II.8)	m'en rendre	me rendre	no change
258, l. 30 (chapter II.8)	celles-là	celle-là	no change
180, l. 35 (chapter III.12)	saisissent	faisissent	'saisissent' crossed through in Errata – see figure 4

At least two of these stets, 'opinons' and 'saisissent', are understandable. For the others, no obvious explanation occurs. Gournay has, for example, clearly reviewed the line '& luy promettoit fournir de vaisseaux' (p. 153, l. 1) because she has inserted a new comma after 'promettoit'. Yet the change from 'luy' to 'leur', which makes perfect grammatical sense in the context, has not been made. However, it is not uncommon not to find all the errata entered by Gournay in individual copies, so Maynooth is not unusual in that respect.

A further set of corrections is not listed in the Errata, but in the final lines of the long preface missing from the Maynooth copy. There Gournay writes:

Et de peur qu'on ne rejette comme temerairement ingerez certains traictz de plume qui corrigent cinq ou six caracteres ou que quelqu'un, à leur adveu, n'en meslast d'autres de sa teste, je donne advis qu'ils sont en ces mots: si, demesler, deuils, osté, Indique, estacade, affreré, paille, m'a, engagez, et quelques poincts de moindre consequence.¹¹

Despite the absence of this preface in Maynooth, these corrections have been made to the text and are (as often) more numerous than listed in the preface. Sayce christens these 'corrections

à la plume, première série'.¹² They are common to nearly all copies of 1595, but not all copies have every correction entered. Maynooth has a very full set of such corrections, again seemingly pointing to the fact that it was intended as a gift. The corrections in Maynooth are as follows:

Page and line number	Printed text	Correction
7, l. 11 (chapter I.3)	indignes de celer	indignes: de celer
23, l. 11 (chapter I.11)	presentes.	presentes,
23, l. 18 (chapter I.11)	Si	Si
114, l. 15 (chapter I.29)	: nous	: si nous
175, l. 38 (chapter I.45)	en fin de se mesler	en fin se démesler
201, l. 2 (chapter I.55)	ie viens. Les estroits	ie viens: Les estroits
339, l. 41 (chapter II.12)	Ocean indigné	Ocean Indique
445, l. 28 (chapter II.19)	ce qu'ils ne pouuoient	ce qu'ils pouuoient
449, l. 34 (chapter II.21)	audelà, il pouuoit	audelà. Il pouuoit
454, l. 22 (chapter II.24)	esté	osté
30, l. 10 (chapter III.4)	deuis	deuils
32, l. 35 (chapter III.4)	estocade	estacade
39, l. 21 (chapter III.5)	affreté	affreré
77, l. 26 (chapter III.5)	paile	paele
113, l. 21 (chapter III.9)	me reserue	ma reserue
138, l. 24 (chapter III.9)	engager	engagéz

There are also a very small number of corrections neither in the preface nor in the

Errata:

Page and line number	Printed text	Correction
101, l. 31 (chapter I.25)	maistre ou ouurier	maistre ouurier

115, l. 38 (chapter I.29)	ventant	vantant
171, l. 9 (chapter III.11)	elider	eluder

Of these readings, the *exemplaire de Bordeaux* also gives ‘maistre ouurier’ (f. 58^r, l. 5) and ‘uantant’ (f. 82^v, first side addition), but ‘elider’ (f. 457^r, l. 20). In two out of three cases, Gournay thus gives the reading of EB, but it does not follow that she consulted that before making the correction.

Finally, there are a very few corrections which seem doubtfully ascribable to Gournay:

p. 162, l. 15 (chapter I, 40), reglée: the accent has been crossed through;

p. 306, l. 44 (chapter II, 12), bras: the ‘r’ has been crossed through.

In the case of the first of these, the correction is unnecessary and in the case of the second, it ruins the meaning of the phrase.

One further example of corrections brings us to one of the most important pages in the Maynooth copy, page 439. The illustration (figure 7) shows the extensive corrections Gournay made to this page. Despite some cropping which occurred during re-binding, her intentions are clear. The page itself has been poorly set and she has scrupulously inked in many faint letters, including in sentences which have subsequently been crossed out. Yet it is her alterations to the 1595 printed text itself which are highly significant. As printed in the Maynooth copy, before correction, the text reads as follows:

I'ay pris plaisir à publier en plusieurs lieux, l'esperance que i'ay de Marie de Gournay le Iars ma fille d'alliance: & certes aymée de moy beaucoup plus que paternellement, & enueloppée en ma retraite & solitude, comme l'une des meilleures parties de mon propre estre. Je ne regarde plus qu'elle au monde. Si l'adolescence peut donner presage, cette ame sera quelque iour capable des plus belles choses, & entre autres de la perfection de cette tres-sainte amitié, où nous ne lisons point que son sexe ait peu monter encores: la sincerité & la solidité de ses mœurs y sont desjà battantes, son affection vers moy plus que sur-abondante: & telle en somme qu'il n'y a rien à souhaiter, sinon que l'apprehension qu'elle a de ma fin, par les cinquante & cinq ans ausquels elle m'a rencontré, la travaillast moins cruellement. Le iugement qu'elle fit des premiers Essays, & femme, & en ce siecle, & si jeune, & seule en son quartier, & la vehemence fameuse dont elle m'ayma & me desira long temps sur la seule estime qu'elle en print de moy, auant m'avoir veu, c'est un accident de tres-digne consideration. Les autres vertus ont eu peu ou point de mise en cet aage: mais la vaillance est devenue populaire par noz guerres ciuiles: & en cette partie, il se trouue parmy nous, des ames fermes, iusques à la perfection, & en grand nombre, si que le triage en est impossible à faire. Voila tout ce que i'ay connu, iusques à cette heure, d'extraordinaire grandeur & non commune.

In the transcription of figure 7 below, deletions are in black, while, for the sake of clarity, insertions, additions and re-organisation are in bold; supplied letters and words missing through cropping are in parentheses.

Les autres vertus ont eu peu ou point de mise e[n] cet aage, mais la vaillance est deuenüe populaire par nos guerres ciuilles: & en cette partie, il se trouue¹³ des

ames fermes iusques à [la] perfection & en grand nombre: si que le tria[ge] en est impossible à faire. I'ay pris plaisir à publier en plusieurs lieux, l'esperance que i'ay de Marie de Gournay le Iars ma fille d'alliance: & certes aymée de moy ~~beaucoup~~ plus que paternellement, ~~& enuelpée en ma retraite & solitude, comme l'une des meilleures parties de mon propre estre. Je ne regarde plus qu'elle au monde.~~ Si l'adolescence peut donner presage, cette ame sera quelque iour capable des plus belles choses, ~~& entre autres de la perfection de cette tres sainte amitié, où nous ne lisons point que son sexe ait peu monter encores: la sincerité & la solidité de ses mœurs y sont desjà battantes, son affection vers moy plus que sur-abondante: & telle en somme qu'il n'y a rien à souhaiter, sinon que l'apprehension qu'elle a de ma fin, par les cinquante & cinq ans ausquels elle m'a rencontré, la travaillast moins cruellement.~~ Le iugement qu'elle fit des premiers Essays, & femme, & en ce siecle, & si jeune, & seule en son quartier, & la **bienueillance q[u'elle] me voüa,** ~~vehemence fameuse dont elle m'ayma & me desira long temps~~ sur la seule estime qu'elle en print de moy, **long temps a[uant] qu'elle m'eus[t vu,] sont des accide[nts de] tresdigne conside[ration.]** ~~auant m'auoir veu, c'est un accident de tres-digne consideration.~~ Les autres vertus ont eu peu ou point de mise en cet aage: mais la vaillance, elle est devenue populaire par noz guerres ciuiles: & en cette partie, il se trouue parmy nous, des ames fermes, iusques à la perfection, & en grand nombre, si que le triage en est impossible à faire. Voila tout ce que i'ay cognu, iusques à cette heure, d'extraordinaire grandeur & non commune.

This would produce the following final text:

Les autres vertus ont eu peu ou point de mise e[n] cet aage, mais la vaillance est deuenüe populaire par nos guerres ciuilles: & en cette partie, il se trouue des ames fermes iusques à [la] perfection & en grand nombre: si que le tria[ge] en est impossible à faire. I'ay pris plaisir à publier en plusieurs lieux, l'esperance que i'ay de Marie de Gournay le Iars ma fille d'alliance: & certes aymée de moy plus que paternellement. Si l'adolescence peut donner presage, cette ame sera quelque iour capable des plus belles choses. Le iugement qu'elle fit des premiers Essays, & femme, & en ce siecle, & si jeune, & seule en son quartier, & la bienueillance q[u'elle] me voüa, sur la seule estime qu'elle en print de moy, long temps a[uant] qu'elle m'eus[t vu,] sont des accide[nts de] tresdigne conside[ration.] Voila tout ce que i'ay cognu, iusques à cette heure, d'extraordinaire grandeur & non commune.

This is a unique manuscript re-working of a famous passage; it has no parallel in the Montaigne editorial annotations discovered to date in Gournay's own hand. To deal, first, with the re-organisation of the text, the transfer of the penultimate sentence of 1595 to the start of the extract greatly improves the logic of the thought. In the previous sentence, Montaigne has been praising the humane conduct of La Noue, one of the Protestant commanders during the French Wars of Religion; his further observation about valour, elevated at the expense of the other virtues, now follows on and his comments run together seamlessly. In fact, on the *exemplaire de Bordeaux*, his train of thought already demonstrated this coherence. What had disrupted the coherence in the 1595 printing was the passage praising Gournay, which had been inserted between the comment about La Noue and the observation about valour. The absence of this *elogium* in the *exemplaire de Bordeaux* had led to speculation that it may have been interpolated later, after Montaigne's death, perhaps even by Gournay herself.¹⁴ However, there is no firm evidence that Montaigne's scrupulous

editor had added the passage about herself and we know that the revised copy of the *Essais* she worked from for publication in 1595 was not identical to the *exemplaire de Bordeaux*.¹⁵ The quoted passage from II.17 undergoes very significant alteration on the Maynooth copy. The exalted tone of the *elogium* has been considerably muted and its verbal extent radically reduced. The 1595 highlighting of the friendship between Montaigne and Gournay, Gournay as the focus of the essayist's attention ('ie ne regarde plus qu'elle au monde'), her sincerity, her sterling character, her abundant affection for Montaigne, the vehemence with which she loves him: all this has vanished, leaving only a new term she inserts on the Maynooth copy, 'bienveillance', the good will and regard she bore him even before meeting him.

It happens that these manuscript corrections exactly match the revisions to this page published in the 1625 edition of the *Essais*, where pages 587-88 print the amended text as seen on the Maynooth copy (although there is no suggestion that Maynooth was the draft for those changes).¹⁶ The revised text for this passage of II.17 was followed subsequently in the 1635 Gournay edition, yet with a further shortening of a key phrase '& certes aymée de moy plus que paternellement' to '& certes aymée de moy paternellement', which completely changes the sense.¹⁷ Philippe Desan noticed the changes to this passage as a whole by comparing the 1635 *Essais* with its 1595 equivalent.¹⁸ In fact, the changes had already been made ten years earlier, as was recognized by Claude Blum who analysed the emendations Gournay made to this passage and to 'De la praesumption' as a whole in the 1625 edition.¹⁹ It seems moreover certain that Gournay herself did not compose the passage she amended, because at the end of the 1625 preface she states:

En ce seul point ay-ie esté hardie, de retrancher quelque chose d'un passage qui me regarde: à l'exemple de celuy qui mit sa belle maison par terre, affin d'y mettre avec

elle l'enuye qu'on leur en portoit. Ioinct que ie veux dementir maintenant & pour l'aduenir, si Dieu prolonge mes années, ceux qui croient; que si ce Liure me loüoit moins, ie le cherirois & seruirois moins aussi.²⁰

This sentence appeared for the first time in the 1625 long preface and is recorded as such by Sayce and Maskell.²¹ Combined with the fact that the important detail in the Maynooth *Essais* reads 'plus que paternellement' rather than just 'paternellement', we can be sure that this copy has more in common with the 1625 *Essais* than with the 1635.

Gournay's 1625 edition formed part of an editorial campaign which stretched from 1617 to 1635, in the three folio printings she oversaw in Paris. Olivier Millet comments on the shifts in emphasis which she makes to the prefaces of the *Essais* in 1617 and 1625:

[Gournay] continue d'afficher son titre par excellence, avec l'autorité qu'il lui confère, mais sur un mode plus objectif. Pour cela, elle élimine les anciennes expressions trop fières ou trop pathétiques [...]. En 1595, certaines phrases, qui seront ensuite supprimées, posaient une totale identification de Gournay et de Montaigne ... ce qu'elle ne fera plus par la suite.²²

This description also fits perfectly Gournay's changes to the final section of 'De la praesumption' on the Maynooth copy. The pride and pathos of the 1595 statements are considerably reduced, as has been noted. Claude Blum brings out the significance of this and similar moves in Gournay's later editions of the *Essais*:

Il apparaît clairement que Marie de Gournay utilise Montaigne pour devenir femme de lettres, pour se faire un nom. Nous ne voulons pas dire par là que ses sentiments sont feints, nous analysons une stratégie de promotion littéraire: les deux choses, la sincérité d'une admiration et l'ambition de faire carrière, peuvent d'ailleurs s'associer et la première servir éventuellement la seconde.²³

Discussing the changes to the preface of 1617 edition, which served as a basis for 1625, Mary McKinley independently supports the views of Millet and Blum:

The 1617 revisions point beyond the preface to the woman whose identity is no longer simply that of Montaigne's *fille d'alliance*. The preface is one of several texts that a busy literary figure, writer as well as editor, is engaged in producing.²⁴

In this light, it is highly significant that pages 587-88 in the 1625 edition, and page 439 in the Maynooth *Essais*, leave part of one particular sentence unchanged: '[l]e iugement qu'elle fit des premiers Essais, & femme, & en ce siecle, & si jeune, & seule en son quartier'. The emphasis is now firmly on Gournay's own intellectual qualities rather than simply on the relationship between herself and Montaigne. Each of the expressions in the phrase Gournay purposely leaves unaltered takes on its full importance, all the more so since the phrase echoes the weight she lends the term 'iugement' in the 1625 preface: 'Le don du iugement est la chose du monde que les hommes possèdent de plus diverse mesure [...]. Le seul iugement esleue les humains sur les bestes, Socrates sur eux, les anges sur eux [...]'.²⁵ No less crucial is her standing as a woman in her century: her editorial and literary activities are now specifically related, as McKinley rightly says, to her female identity, her greater self-

assurance, and to the publications she undertakes in one of the most intensely productive periods of her life, the 1620s.²⁶

Other evidence too points to the 1620s as crucial for understanding the Maynooth copy. Let us return to the prelims and especially to sig. [ĩ iv^v], which is otherwise blank. At the bottom of this page in the Maynooth *Essais*, there is an inscription (figure 8):

[L]a Preface manquoit a ce vieux liure, c'est pourquoy
[c]elle cy y est appliquee. Il y en auoit vne autre de la
[...e] m^{lle} de Gournay, qu'elle a ostee esperant la rendre
meilleure a la premiere impression. Elle offre ce presant
[?a] Monsieur de Beringhen²⁷ de qui elle est treshumble seruante

As can be seen from the illustration, the left hand margin in the original has been trimmed, with some loss, almost certainly in the nineteenth-century re-binding. Underneath these five lines, a sixth can be discerned by the remaining tops of some letters still to be seen on the right hand side of the bottom edge of the page; a further victim of re-binding, this line cannot now be restored. However, the hand that wrote these lines is immediately recognizable: it belongs, once again, to Gournay, and the information she is conveying is of considerable importance. She makes reference to two prefaces. This book was lacking its preface, she says, and so another has been substituted. In other copies of this edition of the *Essais*, this part of the page is occupied by the 'Au Lecteur', whereas in the Maynooth copy it is blank. While we cannot assume that the 'Au Lecteur' of 1617, opposite this page, is being referred to by Gournay or was placed there by her action – indeed, it would seem incongruous to make a gift of such a patchwork volume – nonetheless, her phrase 'c'est pourquoy [c]elle cy

y est appliquee’ might easily be taken to refer to it and if it does not, to what else do her words refer? Yet even if the insertion of this 1617 preface was not her work, there may be good reason, as we have seen, for supposing that the changes associated with Gournay’s early seventeenth-century editions of the *Essais* are of material relevance to the Maynooth copy.

The second allusion Gournay makes in her inscription to yet another preface must refer to her own ‘long preface’ of 1595. She quickly came to regret this preface and substituted a short preface, which was first printed in the 1598 L’Angelier edition and can be seen in manuscript draft form on Antwerp 1. As early as 2 May 1596, indeed, Gournay wrote to Lipsius:

J’ai faict une préface sur ce livre-là, dont je me repents, tant à cause de ma feiblesse, mon enfantillage et l’incuriosité d’un esprit mallade, que par ce aussy que ces ténèbres de douleur qui m’enveloppent l’âme ont semblé prendre plaisir à rendre à l’envy cette sienne conception si ténébreuse et obscure qu’on n’y peut rien entendre.²⁸

She encouraged Lipsius to find printers for the *Essais* in his own country, stipulating, however, that the ‘long preface’ should not be printed until she had had the opportunity to correct it. Later the same year, Gournay sent a copy of the 1595 edition to Lipsius and described it to him in a letter of 15 November 1596:

Vous verrez à sa tête huict ou dix fueilles coupées: c’estoit une preface que je luy laissay couler en saison où ma douleur ne me permettoit ny de bien faire ny de sentir que je faisois mal: que n’estois-je alors près de vous? au lieu de celle-là, vous en trouverez une de dix lignes.²⁹

The 10-line preface by Gournay mentioned in this letter is the ‘short preface’ and the copy with the ‘long preface’ excised is similar to Antwerp 1, to which reference has already been made. It seems no coincidence that the Maynooth copy also has the same missing pages: the ‘long preface’ is absent. Gournay’s words on this subject in the inscription – ‘Il y a auoit vne autre ... qu’elle a ostee’ – implies that she deliberately excised her ‘long preface’ as she had done long before with Lipsius’s copy and with others she mentions in her second letter to him.³⁰ In that case, Maynooth belongs to a special group of 1595s of which Claude Bum says, ‘elle ampute les exemplaires des *Essais* de 1595 qui passent par ses mains de la préface devenue compromettante’.³¹ Even if Gournay made the excision only at the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, for the purposes of making a gift, this shows her abiding concern for the text of the *Essais* as a feature of her own ‘identité littéraire propre’.³² The very choice of a copy of 1595 as a gift is itself significant: Gournay’s preface to the 1635 *Essais* refers to the 1595 as ‘le vieil et bon Exemplaire *in-folio*’³³ and it became for her the reference point for judging the accuracy of subsequent editions. The seemingly dismissive reference to ‘ce vieux liure’ in her inscription on the Maynooth copy conceals the real and lasting importance this edition held in her eyes.

The fact, nonetheless, that Gournay speaks of the Maynooth *Essais* as ‘ce vieux liure’ suggests a later rather than an earlier date for the inscription. This affects the potential dedicatee of the volume. There are two candidates for the ‘Monsieur de Beringhen’ to whom she offers this copy. The first was Pierre de Beringhen (Beringen, Beringuan, Belingan), a confident and intimate of Henri IV, created the king’s ‘premier valet de chambre’ in 1594, and later, in 1610, ennobled and appointed governor of Étaples and controller general of the mines of France. He had acquired the ‘seigneurie’ of Armainvilliers a year previously, in

1609. He died in 1619. His son, Henri (1603-92), a court favourite of Louis XIII, succeeded to his father's position of 'premier valet de chambre'. He was exiled from France by Richelieu in 1630 for his involvement with the Queen, Anne of Austria, according to Saint-Simon,³⁴ only to be recalled in 1643, shortly before the death of Louis XIII. In 1645, he was promoted under the regency of Anne of Austria, and through her influence, to 'premier écuyer du Roy', as a result of which he was subsequently known as 'Monsieur le Premier'.³⁵

The inscription on the Maynooth *Essais* thus provides a formal indication of Gournay's connections, hitherto unrecorded, with at least one male figure in the Beringhen family.³⁶

The connection is, however, less puzzling than might at first sight appear. Pierre de Beringhen was married to Madeleine Bruneau, whose sister, Marie (1585-1641), was in turn the wife of Charles de Rechignevoisin, seigneur des Loges.³⁷ A well-known Protestant, Marie des Loges held a notable salon in the rue de Tournon in Paris, which Gournay frequented during the 1620s (and perhaps before) and where she met writers such as Malherbe, Voiture, Guez de Balzac and Godeau.³⁸ Furthermore, Marie des Loges was the dedicatee of Gournay's *Deffence de la poesie & du langage des poëtes*, which appeared in *L'Ombre de la Demoiselle de Gournay* in 1626 and subsequently in *Les Advis, ou Les Presens de la demoiselle de Gournay* in 1634 and 1641.³⁹ Jacques Pannier and Linda Timmermans have made important contributions to the understanding of this salon, which discussed religious, political and literary matters,⁴⁰ but which was ultimately suppressed by Richelieu in 1629 not only because of Marie des Loges' Protestant faith, but also and more particularly because she was linked with Gaston d'Orléans and his party.⁴¹ Given that the emendations in the Maynooth Montaigne, particularly page 439, indicate a clear link with the 1625 *Essais*, the likelihood is that the dedicatory inscription is to Henri de Beringhen rather than his father. Although there is nothing in the Maynooth volume to indicate that Gournay met him at his aunt's salon, that is clearly not out of the question and it would not exclude other forms of acquaintance. The

respectful terms in which she speaks of him in the inscription suggest that their relationship was semi-formal, but close enough for her to give him a copy of Montaigne. The word she uses to describe her gift to him, 'presant', is also the term which features in the sub-title of *Les Advis*, where each separate treatise is regarded as a gift with its own recipient-dedicatee. Her 'presant' to Beringhen thus parallels the 'presen' to his aunt.⁴² It may also be no coincidence that in 1622 Gournay dedicated the treatise *Égalité des hommes & des femmes* to Anne of Austria, with whom Beringhen was closely connected.⁴³ It too was shortly afterwards collected in the *L'Ombre* of 1626 and later in *Les Advis, ou Les Presens*.

Taking all the evidence together, it seems, then, that the inscriptions and corrections by Gournay on the Maynooth Montaigne belong to the period around 1625 when she was making further significant changes to her long preface to the *Essais* as well as to one important page concerning herself and her relationship with Montaigne. It belongs also to the period of her attendance at the Des Loges' salon, a period in which she issued defences of sixteenth-century writers from Ronsard to Montaigne against attacks from Malherbe and others whom she met at the salon, but also a period when she published feminist treatises such as the *Grief des Dames* and the *Égalité des hommes & des femmes*, both of which were first collected in 1626. Yet the Maynooth copy of the 1595 *Essais* has not yielded all its secrets; puzzles still remain. It is neither in its original binding nor entirely in its original state. Why did she give Beringhen such an obviously defective copy? What was, in general, the nature of her acquaintance with him? What is the relevance (if any) of the 1617 'Au Lecteur' and portrait? Further research may throw light on these and similar questions. For the time being, this remarkable copy of the *Essais* is a significant addition to documentary evidence of Gournay's career as an editor and literary and social figure in the early seventeenth century.

¹ For this and the following remarks about the possible provenance and binding of the volume, I am indebted to Penny Woods, former librarian of the Russell Library. I am further indebted to Audrey Kinch of the Russell Library for her help in facilitating my access to the Maynooth Montaigne and to Louise Walsworth-Bell for supplying the photographs. Elizabeth Alpass, of the Durham Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, prepared the photographs for publication.

² See Richard J. Wolfe, *Marbled Paper: Its History, Techniques and Patterns* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), plate XXXIV, no. 142. Wolfe describes this as 'Fancy Spanish or Lace' pattern, Britain [and Ireland], second half of the nineteenth century. I owe this reference to Penny Woods.

³ R. A. Sayce and David Maskell, *A Descriptive Bibliography of Montaigne's 'Essais', 1580-1700* (London: MHRA and the Bibliographical Society, 1983), no. 7A, p. 25, plate (a).

⁴ See Sayce and Maskell, pp. 188-89, for illustrations of the title pages and the variants in lines 2 and 4 of the quatrain.

⁵ Sayce and Maskell, p. 29, observation no 6.

⁶ Museum Plantin Moretus, shelfmark R. 40.5; <http://anet.ua.ac.be/record/opacmpm/c:lvd:6531228/N> Consulted 4 August 2014. Sayce and Maskell, no. 7A†: 1595 Fully corrected in ink, pp. 30-33.

⁷ Richard Sayce, 'L'Édition des Essais de Montaigne de 1595', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 36/1 (1974), pp. 115-41 at p. 128.

⁸ Comparisons have been made with the BL copy (C.125.e.25), the Cambridge UL copy (Montaigne 2.3.1) and the BM Lyon copy (Rés. 107270).

⁹ Sayce, 'L'Édition', p. 126.

¹⁰ Günter Abel, 'Juste Lipse et Marie de Gournay: Autour de l'exemplaire d'Anvers des *Essais* de Montaigne', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 35/1 (1973), pp. 117-29 at p. 123.

¹¹ Millet, p. 128.

¹² Sayce, 'L'Édition', p. 128 for the term and pp. 129-30 for his list compiled from a selection of 1595 editions.

¹³ It will be noted that the words, 'parmy nous', have been omitted in Gournay's rewriting of this sentence along the margin of the volume. They are clearly visible in the printed text.

¹⁴ The difficulties with seeing the interpolation as a fabrication of Gournay's were long ago highlighted by Jacob Zeitlin, 'The Relation of the Text of 1595 to that of the Bordeaux Copy', in *The Essays of Montaigne*, trans. and ed. Jacob Zeitlin, 3 vols (New York: Knopf, 1934), I, pp. 421-34 at 421-22. The editors of the recent 'Pléiade' *Essais* comment that the stylistic coherence of the passage and what we know of Gournay's relations with Montaigne belie the view that she added the *elogium* out of vanity: *Les Essais*, ed. Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), p. 1654, note 2 to page 703.

¹⁵ See Jean Balsamo, 'Le Destin éditorial des *Essais* (1580-1598)' in *Les Essais* (2007), pp. xxxii-lv.

¹⁶ *Les Essais de Michel Seigneur de Montaigne* (Paris: Hulseau, 1625).

¹⁷ *Les Essais de Michel Seigneur de Montaigne* (Paris: Rocolet and Du Bray, 1635), p. 517.

¹⁸ Philippe Desan, "'Cet orphelin qui m'estoit commis": Marie de Gournay et le travail éditorial des *Essais* de 1595 à 1635', in *Montaigne dans tous ses états* (Fasano: Schena Editore, 2001), pp. 213-14.

¹⁹ Marie de Gournay, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jean-Claude Arnould and others, 2 vols (Paris: Garnier, 2006), I, pp. 38-39.

²⁰ *Essais* (1625), sig. [¶¶¶¶¶¶ ij^r]; with one change ('par cette voye' substituted for 'si Dieu prolonge mes années'), the same passage is also printed in *Essais* (1635), sig. ¶¶¶¶ ij^r.

²¹ Sayce and Maskell, p. 103, observation 6.

²² Olivier Millet, 'Les Préfaces et le rôle de Marie de Gournay dans la première réception des *Essais* de Montaigne', in *Marie de Gournay et l'édition de 1595 des 'Essais' de Montaigne*, ed. J.-C. Arnould (Paris: Champion, 1996), pp. 79-91 (p. XXX).

²³ Gournay, *Œuvres complètes*, p. 39.

²⁴ Mary McKinley, 'An Editorial Revival: Gournay's 1617 Preface to the *Essais*', *Montaigne Studies* 8 (1996), pp. 193-201 (p. 200).

²⁵ *Essais* (1625), sig. ũ^v.

²⁶ McKinley, p. 201.

²⁷ The second vowel has been awkwardly made so that it looks like a ligatured 'ae' or an 'a' overwritten with an 'e'.

²⁸ Olivier Millet, *La Première Réception des 'Essais' de Montaigne (1580-1640)* (Paris: Champion, 1995), p. 132.

²⁹ Millet, p. 133.

³⁰ Millet, p. 133: Gournay mentions three copies, one for Lipsius and two others which she asks him to send to Basle and Strasbourg. She then further mentions a copy for Plantin (Antwerp 1) and 'd'autres dispersez par toutes les fameuses impressions de l'Europe'.

³¹ Gournay, *Œuvres complètes*, p. 36.

³² Gournay, *Œuvres complètes*, p. 36.

³³ *Essais* (1635), sig. ¶¶¶ ij^r.

³⁴ Discussing the Beringhens, father and son, Saint-Simon says of Henri de Beringhen, 'C'était un homme d'esprit et d'intrigue [...] on pouvait se fier à son secret et à sa parole', *Mémoires*, ed. Yves Coirault (Paris: Gallimard, 19XX), vol. 1.: XXXXXXXX

³⁵ On the Beringhens, see Henri-Auguste Loménie de Brienne, *Mémoires* (Amsterdam: Bernard, 1723), I, p. 297 under the year 1630; Gros de Boze, *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris: Guérin, 1740), II, pp. 326-28; François-Alexandre Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois, *Dictionnaire généalogique, héraldique, chronologique et historique* (Paris: Duchesne, 1757), I, p. 231; *Mémoires anecdotiques pour servir à l'histoire de la maison de Bourbon* (n.p., 1792), VII, pp. 123-25; Eugène and Emile Haag, *La France Protestante* (Paris and Geneva: Cherbuliez, 1847), II, 195-96; Françoise Bertaut de Motteville, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire d'Anne d'Autriche*, ed. Joseph Cognat (Paris: Plon, 1851), I, pp. 112-13.

³⁶ No mention of either Beringhen in Giovanna Devincenzo, *Marie de Gournay: Un cas littéraire* (Fasano: Schena editore, 2002), Michèle Fogel, *Marie de Gournay. Itinéraires d'une femme savante* (Paris: Fayard, 2004) or Marie-Thérèse Noiset, *Marie de Gournay et son œuvre* (Jambes: Les Éditions namuroises, 2014).

³⁷ On the Bruneau sisters, see Tallement des Rieux, *Historiettes* (Paris: Levavasseur, 1834), III, pp. 22-26 ('Madame des Loges et Borstel'), 26-29 ('Notice sur madame Des Loges tirée des manuscrits de Conrart'), 30-33 ('Madame de Beringhen et son fils'); Eugène and Emile Haag, *La France Protestante* (Paris and Geneva: Cherbuliez, 1852), III, 47-48. On Marie des Loges alone, see Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Amsterdam: Leers, 1697), II, part 1, pp. 354-55; for her salon, see Jacques Pannier, *L'Église réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII de 1610 à 1621* (Strasbourg: Istra; Paris: Champion, 1922-32), I, pp. 338-43; II, 341-47; III, 51-65.

³⁸ See Gournay, *Œuvres complètes*, I, p. 1081, note C.

³⁹ See Jean-Philippe Beaulieu and Hannah Fournier, 'Les Interests du sexe: Dédicataires féminins et réseaux de sociabilité chez Marie de Gournay', *Renaissance et Réforme* 28/1 (2004), pp. 47-59.

⁴⁰ Linda Timmermans, *L'Accès des femmes à la culture (1598-1715): Un débat d'idées de saint François de Sales à la marquise de Lambert* (Paris: Champion, 1993), pp. 77-84.

⁴¹ Beaulieu and Fournier, p. 54; Rosine Lambin, *Femmes de paix: La coexistence religieuse et les dames de la noblesse en France, 1520-1630* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003), p. 446.

⁴² For one aspect of the relationship between Marie des Loges and Henri de Beringhen, see Jules Chavannes, 'Madame des Loges et la famille de Beringhen. Une lettre de Madame des Loges à Henri de Beringhen son neveu (1628?)', pp. 84-96.

⁴³ In the *Advis* of 1641 (but not before), the preface to this work is dated 1624.